

- Neumann, R. 1998. *Imposing wilderness: struggles over livelihood and nature preservation in Africa*. London, Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Ntsebeza, L. 2007. "Land redistribution in South Africa: the property clause revisited". In *The land question in South Africa: The challenge of transformation and redistribution*, edited by L. Ntsebeza and R. Hall, 107–132. Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Ross, R. 1986. "The origins of capitalist agriculture in the Cape Colony" in *Putting a plough to the ground: Accumulation and dispossession in rural South Africa, 1850–1930*, edited by W. Beinart, P. Delius & S. Trapido. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- Sharife, K., 2010. "SA-Congo 'land grab': Exploitation or salvation?", *Mail & Guardian*, 12 March.
- Shivji, I. 2005. "The Changing Development Discourse in Africa", *Pambazuka News*, 224.
- Snijders, D. 2012. "Wild Property and its boundaries—on wildlife policy and rural consequence in South Africa", *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 39(2): 503–520.
- South African Parliament. 2009. "Willing buyer, willing seller model doesn't work—Land affairs minister Gugile Nkwinti", 20 June.
- . 2010. "39,982 commercial farmers in SA—Minister", 30 August 2010 National Assembly—written reply to question 2019, 6 August, 2010.
- Statistics South Africa. 2005. *Census of Commercial Agriculture 2002 Financial and Production Statistics*. Pretoria: StatsSA.
- . 2010. Mid-year Population estimates. Accessed online at www.statssa.gov.za, P0302 online.
- . 2011. General Household Survey 2010. www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0318/P0318June2010.pdf
- Terreblanche, S. 2002. *A History of Inequality in South Africa, 1652–2002*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002.
- The National Agricultural Marketing Council. 2006. Report on the investigation to identify problems for sustainable growth and development in South African wildlife ranching. Pretoria: NAMC.
- Van Zyl, J., J. Kirsten, H.P. Binswanger. 1996. *Agricultural land reform in South Africa: policies, markets and mechanisms*. Oxford University Press Southern Africa.
- Viljoen, M.F. 2005. "South African agricultural policy 1994 to 2004: some reflections". *Agrekon* 44(1):1–16.
- Vink, N., J. Kirsten. 2003. "Agriculture in the national economy" in *The Challenge of Change—Agriculture, Land and the South African Economy*, edited by L. Nieuwoudt and J. Groenewald, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
- Vink, N., J. van Rooyen, 2009, The economic performance of agriculture in South Africa since 1994: Implications for food security. Development Bank of South Africa.
- Wegerif, M., B. Russell, I. Grundling. 2005. *Still searching for security: The reality of farm dweller evictions in South Africa*. Nkuzi Development Association.
- Williams, G., J. Ewert, J. Hamann, N. Vink. 1998. "Liberalizing markets and reforming land in South Africa". *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. 16(1).
- Wolmer, W. 2007. *From wilderness vision to farm invasions: conservation and development in Zimbabwe's south-east Lowveld*. London: James Currey.

Interviews conducted between 2008 and 2011.

(2013) *Africa for Sale: Positioning the State, Land and Society in Foreign Large-Scale Land Acquisition in Africa*. ed. Sandra Evers, Caroline Seagle + Froukje Krijtenburg

DEVELOPMENT AND DISPOSSESSION: IMPACTS OF LAND REFORM IN BOTSWANA

Leiden: BIV
rp/31-157

Maria Sapignoli and Robert K. Hitchcock

INTRODUCTION

The shift from communal to individualized systems of land tenure is a process that has occurred throughout Africa. During the 20th and early 21st centuries there were at least 40 major attempts to reform the basis of land tenure in various African countries (Sanford 1983; Hunter 2004; Anseeuw and Alden 2010). Relatively few of these efforts could be described as successful; many of them exacerbated social inequities, increased poverty and resulted in environmental degradation (Sanford 1981; Peters 1994; Rohde et al. 2006; De Sagte 2011).

A useful example of the costs and benefits of African land tenure reform is that of the Republic of Botswana in southern Africa.¹ Botswana is an interesting case for a number of reasons. First, it differs from its neighbors in southern Africa because it was not a settler state in the classic sense of the term. As a protectorate, the process of colonization of Botswana was somewhat different from its neighbors (Picard 1985). Relatively small areas of land were allocated to European settlers as commercial farms, totaling approximately 5 per cent of the country, as opposed to 43 per cent of the land of Namibia, 40 per cent of Zimbabwe, and 87 per cent of South Africa. Second, in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, when Botswana had become relatively well-off economically as compared to other African countries, the government sought and received substantial foreign direct investment (FDI) in the form of loans from the World Bank and other international donors for large-scale land reform and livestock development projects (Leith 2005). Third, the government of Botswana does not have a general policy of encouraging foreign land acquisition (FLA); foreigners do, however, get access to land through behind-the-scenes arrangements with

¹ For discussions of the importance of Botswana as an example of grazing land reform, see Hitchcock (1980); Picard (1981); Lawry (1983); Sanford (1983); Merafe (1988); Dickson (1990); Tsimako (1991); Peters (1994).

Batswana who have obtained land through purchase (in the case of freehold land) or allocation through land boards (in the case of tribal land).

This chapter considers changes in land tenure over time in Botswana, looking first at the processes of change in land distribution and land tenure reform that occurred in the colonial (1885–1966) and post-colonial periods (1966–present). As we will show, some of the land in Botswana was converted into cattle ranches as part of large-scale livestock development programs, while other land became wildlife reserves, national parks, and towns (see also Andrew et al., this volume).

Two general processes of change in land tenure are considered: (1) the establishment of freehold areas under the colonial government, and (2) the post-colonial reform of land tenure in the tribal lands, which saw leasehold ranches established on what had been communal land. We begin with a discussion of the colonial transformations in land tenure, then address the post-independence land reforms. In the process, we consider the various factors that led to dispossession of sizable numbers of poor people in Botswana, with many of the benefits of these programs going to better-off members of the society and to foreigners. Particular emphasis is placed on the processes of dispossession of some of the poorest people in Botswana, the San, or, as they are known in Botswana, the Basarwa.

In an effort to assist the people in rural communities, the Botswana government initiated several programs: the Remote Area Development Program and Social and Community Development (S and CD), which provided food and other support. Credit schemes were available through the Financial Assistance Policy (FAP) and the Arable Lands Development Program (ALDEP). The initiation of a Community-Based Natural Resource Management program encouraged communities to embark on CBNRM activities, which in some areas included the integration of crops, livestock, and wildlife (for a critical discussion of CBNRM, see Dressler et al. 2010). In this chapter, we examine the ways in which these programs have worked (and not worked), drawing on examples from Ghanzi, the Western Central District, and southern and western Ngamiland, places San are in the majority.

LAND REFORM AND LIVESTOCK DEVELOPMENT

The background of Botswana land reform has roots in its colonial and post-colonial past. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, some of the land in the country was allocated by colonial authorities to European individuals

and companies on a freehold basis, notably the Ghanzi Farms in western Botswana, the Tati Concession in northeastern Botswana, and the Tuli Block along the Limpopo River in eastern Botswana (Schapera 1943: 7–15, 1971; Parsons 1973; Mazonde 1991; Tlou and Campbell 1997; Manatsha and Maharajan 2010). Local impacts of these decisions included the dispossession of sizable numbers of people who had resided on that land for generations but whose services were not needed by the farmers or companies who got title over the land. The reduction in access to land meant that in some cases, the livelihoods of people, especially the poor, were reduced.

With the establishment of the British Protectorate over Bechuanaland, portions of the country were set aside as Crown Lands, notably the Western Crown Lands, comprising what are now the Ghanzi and Kgalagadi Districts (approximately 30 per cent of the country), and the Northern Crown Lands, covering the northern portion of what was the Ngwato Tribal Territory and Chobe (see Figure 1).

In western Botswana, partly in response to a request of Cecil John Rhodes and the British South Africa Company, land was set aside for farms, partially as a buffer between German South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. In 1895, a Lt. Fuller and a contingent of Bechuanaland Protectorate Police along with 25 Afrikaner families trekked across the southern Kalahari and arrived in Ghanzi on 24 April. They hoped to move on to settle in Ngamiland but were rebuffed by the Tawana chief, Sekgoma Letsholathebe. In 1896 Lt. Fuller submitted a request to the Bechuanaland Protectorate Administration that Ghanzi become a farming area for European settlement (Botswana National Archives [BNA] file C.O. 417/141). The Bechuanaland Protectorate Administration agreed in 1897 to set up a farming block of land that would be allocated to individuals. Eventually 41 farms of approximately 5,000 morgen (4.284 sq km) were allocated to Afrikaner and English farmers who trekked out of South Africa to Ghanzi in 1898–1899 (Russell and Russell 1979: 12–15; Guenther 1986). The Ghanzi Farms were expanded in the 1950s and 1960s, when additional farms were surveyed and allocated. Today, there is a total of 172 Ghanzi freehold farms, the vast majority of which are owned by Batswana, some of them of English and Afrikaner heritage.

Over time, a substantial portion of the Ghanzi San population, which numbered at one time in the thousands, became what in effect were landless laborers on land that was granted to other people. Pressures were exerted on San who were not working on the farms to leave. Many of them did so, in some cases moving to the main administrative center of the region, the town of Ghanzi. In the 1960s, San and other groups who

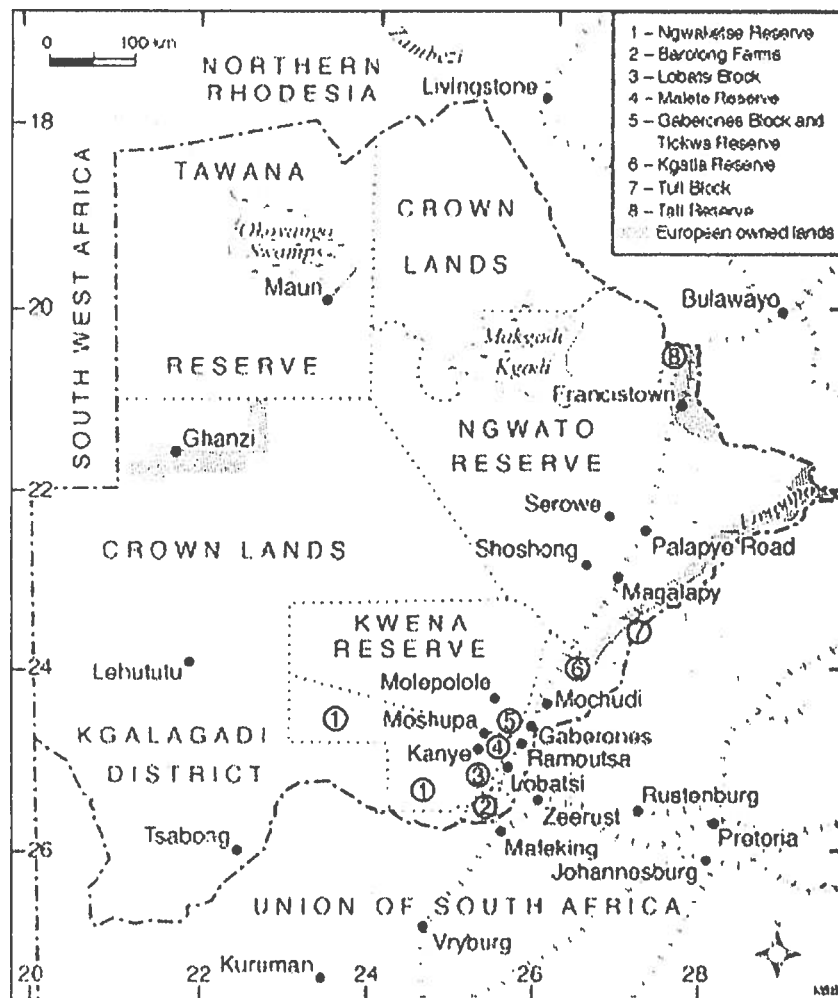


Figure 1. Map of the Bechuanaland Protectorate

were defined as squatters were removed from Ghanzi, their homes being burned by district administration officials. Similar removals from squatter camps took place in Francistown at the behest of the Tati Company and the British Protectorate Administration. San in the Northern Crown Lands were removed from the areas that they occupied by the Protectorate Administration and the Ngwato tribe in the mid- to late 1940s after incidents of alleged lawlessness occurred (Hitchcock 1991; BNA file S.198/2). Not long after the removals, the Bechuanaland Protectorate Administration granted the Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC) the rights to a set of commercial cattle ranches in the Northern Crown Lands in the same area from which the San had been removed and relocated to the areas to the east and south of the Nata River. The establishment of settlement schemes for San was a feature of both colonial and post-colonial state policy in Botswana.

Another aspect of state policy in Botswana was the creation of protected areas, including national parks, game reserves, and monuments. These areas were set aside to protect the natural and cultural heritage of Botswana (Campbell 1973). One of these areas, established in 1961, was the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, established in part to protect wildlife and habitats but also to allow the residents of the reserve to continue their hunting and gathering activities (Silberbauer 1981; Hitchcock 2001, 2002; Sapi gnoli 2012). By the time of independence in September, 1966, Botswana had set aside some 17 per cent of its land as national parks, game reserves, and other kinds of protected areas.

POST-INDEPENDENCE LAND REFORMS

In July 1975, Sir Seretse Khama, the first President of Botswana, announced a long-term program of land reform and livestock development for the country, the Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TGLP) (Khama 1975; Republic of Botswana 1975). This program, which was supported by the World Bank and the European Development Fund as well as by the government of Botswana, had three main aims:

- (1) to stop overgrazing and degradation of the range;
- (2) to promote greater equality of incomes in rural areas;
- (3) to allow growth and commercialization of the livestock industry on a sustained basis.

Table 1. Land zoning categories in Botswana

Type of land	Land zoning category	Amount of land (sq km)	Percentage of country
Freehold land	Freehold farms	32,970	5.7
State land	Parks and reserves	101,535	17.4
	Other	32,455	5.6
Tribal land	Communal	173,432	29.8
	Commercial	51,094	8.8
	Wildlife	129,450	22.2
	Management areas		
	Leasehold ranches	3,351	0.6
	Remote area	3,523	0.6
	Dweller settlements		
	Other	53,945	9.3
Total		581,720	100.0

Note: Data obtained from the Ministry of Local Government and the Ministry of Lands and Housing, Government of Botswana. The category "other" includes land in towns and land set aside for government purposes (e.g. trek routes, quarantine camps for livestock).

The best way to achieve these aims, it was argued in a government white paper (Republic of Botswana 1975), was through the granting of exclusive rights to individuals and groups who would then have an incentive to manage their grazing in appropriate ways.

The customary forms of land ownership that remained under the Tribal Land Act of 1968 and the TGLP white paper stipulated that (1) individuals had the right to land for residential, business, grazing, and agricultural purposes; (2) individuals could not own land (i.e. have *de jure* tenure rights) in communal areas, (3) traditional authorities (chiefs and headmen) no longer had the right to allocate land; instead this right was ceded to district land boards; (4) individuals seeking land or water rights from Land boards had to apply for it, and (5) there were no individual entitlements in communal land, only in freehold and what was defined as commercial (leasehold) land.

Under customary law in Botswana, open surface water (e.g. rivers, springs, pans with water in them) was free to be used by anyone who wished to use it (Schapera 1943: 243-244). This was also true for dams that were constructed through collective labor. In the past, people were supposed to seek permission from the chief (*kgosi*) or grazing area headman (*modisa*) for the right to develop a water point (Schapera 1943: 244). Where water was obtained through the expenditure of private labor or the

use of capital, as in the case of well-digging or borehole sinking, people were able to keep the water for personal use. In the 20th century and especially during the new millennium, there were cases in which individuals transferred the rights over water points to other individuals, some of them foreigners, in exchange for some kind of cash or in kind payment.

Since the passage of the *Tribal Land Act* individuals had to seek permission for a water right from the district land board. If an individual bought a private freehold farm such as one in Ghanzi or in the Tuli Block in eastern Botswana, he or she had rights of ownership of the water points on that farm. Once an individual got a water right, either through getting permission to establish a water point from the land board, or through purchasing a private farm, he or she also had access to the grazing land surrounding the water point. If people wished to appeal decisions of the Land board about a water point, they had to lodge such an appeal with the Minister of Lands and Housing (in the past, the Minister of Local Government and Lands). Conflicts over water rights are not uncommon in the communal areas of Botswana, and they were a source of friction between groups and individuals in the past as well (see also Adamczewski et al., this volume).

One of the major issues that arose during the course of TGLP implementation revolved around the numbers of non-water right holders and non-livestock owners residing in the areas that were designated as commercial leasehold ranches. While attention was paid in the White Paper to protecting "the interests of those who own only a few cattle or none at all" (Republic of Botswana 1975: 6) and it held that "planning will aim to ensure that land development helps the poor and does not make them worse off" (Republic of Botswana 1975: 2), things did not work out that way. When it was found that many of the sandveld areas had existing water points and people in them, planners responded by zoning the land either commercial or communal. The criteria used were (1) the numbers of water points and cattle posts that existed in them, and (2) the presence or absence of villages and towns. No land was zoned as reserved because it was felt that there was sufficient land for communal use already.

Thus, in spite of the fact that the 'reserved areas' were the only 'safeguards for the poorer members of the population' (Republic of Botswana 1975: 7), it was decided to forgo zoning land in this way. Instead, some of the land was left un-zoned pending further investigation. As the zoning process evolved, it was noted that some of the land had substantial numbers of wildlife. Since only a portion of those areas where wildlife was

found was protected in the form of national parks and game reserves, it was recommended that a new land zoning category be created: Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs).

By the early 1980s, the zoning and land use planning process had resulted in the country being divided into a number of different categories including (a) commercial land, (b) communal land, (c) reserved land, (d) Wildlife Management Areas, (e) specialized leasehold farms, (f) national parks and game reserves, and (g) land left either un-zoned or categorized as 'investigation areas' (Wily 1981). The latter were areas where insufficient information was known to make a land zoning designation. It is important to note that virtually no land whatsoever was set aside as reserved; thus, the 'safeguards for the poor' were dispensed with completely. Essentially, the 'reserved' areas would have provided land for people who did not have cattle or practice agriculture to continue to maintain their customary activities, which included foraging, and would have prevented these areas from being turned into commercial cattle ranches or designated as communal areas.

At the time the Tribal Grazing Land Policy was declared (1975), it was felt that the granting of exclusive rights would lead to greater efforts at conservation. What has happened, in a number of cases, however, is that ranches were stocked heavily, and the grazing was reduced significantly. Individuals who had leasehold rights maintained their rights to grazing in the communal areas; as a result, when their ranches were overgrazed, they simply moved their livestock back to the communal grazing areas, thus exacerbating the grazing problems in these areas. This system of dual grazing rights posed serious problems for environmental quality in both the commercial and communal areas (White 1993; de Sagne 2011).

The situations on commercial ranches were complex. People living there were generally not allowed to graze their own animals on the ranch, unless specific provision was made for that by the ranch lessee. Fences constructed on the peripheries of the ranch (border fences) restricted the movement of livestock out of the ranch area. If the grazing was overexploited, or if a fire burned off much of the grazing or a drought hit and grazing resources were reduced, cattle owners were faced with a dilemma because of the existence of private or leasehold ranches nearby, they could not simply move their cattle to an adjacent area. They had to move them back to the communal areas, which meant that their animals were competing with other people's livestock for grazing and water. It also meant that they had little control over the breeding activities of their animals.

Based on fieldwork in TGLP ranch areas in the 1970s–1990s (see Hitchcock 1978; Campbell, Main and Hitchcock 2006; Perkins 1991), people residing on the ranches generally wished to plant some vegetables and food crops (e.g. sorghum, maize, water melons). With the ranch lessee's permission, they would prepare small gardens for vegetables or plough larger fields, often using the cattle or donkeys belonging to the ranch lessee. They then had to protect their gardens and fields from marauding goats, donkeys, cattle, and wildlife using brush fences. In many cases, however, people who had TGLP ranches would not allow their employees or their families to plant crops on their ranches because they assumed it would mean that their workers were pursuing their own interests and not taking good care of the livestock on the ranch.

The costs of fencing, borehole drilling and equipment have increased greatly over time, thus making the question of the economics of ranching a major issue. Data on livestock production (measured in terms of weight gain and numbers of calves born) suggest that communal area cattle posts in a number of cases had higher productivity levels than did the leasehold ranches, according to the Animal Production Research Unit of the Ministry of Agriculture (Ministry of Agriculture 1983; see also Behnke, Scoones, and Kerven 1993; White 1993 for discussions of this point). The costs of setting up and running a ranch in the remote areas of Botswana are quite high, and as a result many cattle owners decided not to fence. Some water source owners also refused to sign leases over the land surrounding their boreholes since they did not feel that it was in their best interests. They felt this way because they saw no reason to pay even a minimal amount of money for land which they essentially had exclusive rights over anyway. In line with government land legislation passed in 1991 (the National Policy on Agricultural Development, Republic of Botswana 1991). It should be noted that much of the funding for the commercialization of the livestock industry in Botswana in the 1970s and 1980s was provided by the World Bank (see Table 2). Additional funders included the European Development Fund, the U.S. Agency for International Development, and the African Development Bank. It is also interesting to note that many of the loans made to individuals who obtained leasehold ranches were written off by the NDB, thus allowing cattle owners, some of them well-to-do, to essentially be subsidized by international and national funding agencies, something that was not the case for the poor who were removed from ranches. It is important to note that of all minority groups in Botswana, numbering approximately 37–40, the San have the lowest percentage of

Table 2. World Bank funded livestock development projects in Botswana

Project	Title	Dates	Finance
LDP 1	Livestock development project 1	1972-76	US\$5,400,000
LDP 2	Second livestock development project	1977-1982	US\$13,400,000
LDP 3	National land management and livestock development project	1985-1988	US\$17,800,000
TOTAL	3 projects		US\$36,600,000

land board certificates, which means that they have the highest potential of being dispossessed. Very few, if any, San have been allocated grazing or water rights by land boards.

SOCIAL EQUITY AND LAND DEVELOPMENT IN BOTSWANA

The question of social equity is still a contentious issue in Botswana. Over 40,000 people resided in the tribal areas that were zoned as commercial. Some of these people were required to leave the ranches; compensation, if it was given at all, was in the form of cash and was relatively minimal. The argument that compensation should be provided in the form of land was accepted only to a limited degree by the land boards. When there were conflicting rights over commercial ranches, the land boards opted for de-zoning (declaring the area communal). In an effort to offset problems of dispossession, the alternative strategy was to set aside blocks of land either within or adjacent to commercial ranching areas where people who are required to leave leased land could gain access to social services and some land for production purposes. In practice, the area that was declared Communal Service Centers (CSCs) constituted a small amount of land (1,058 square kilometers) (see Section 20 in the revised edition of the *Tribal Grazing Land Policy Guidelines*, Ministry of Local Government and Lands 1984). Communal service centers were found in western Central District (Mmaletswai), the Hainaveld region of Northwest District (Ngamiland), northeastern and western Kweneng District, Southern District (Tankana), Kgalegadi District, and Ghanzi District (see Figure 2).

However, most people who were evicted from the ranches opted not to go to the communal service centers, in part because they saw them as too small in area, too crowded, and unlikely to provide opportunities for subsistence and income generation. Instead, they decided to move to other communal areas where there was more space. Their decision to relocate

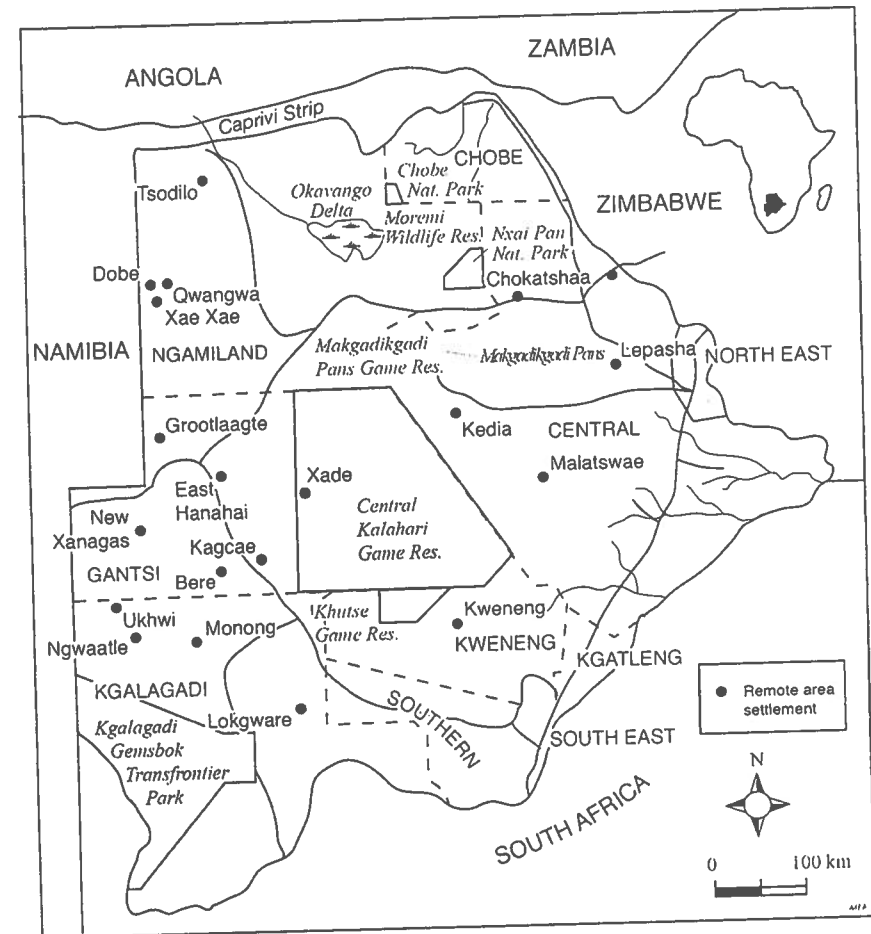


Figure 2. Map of Botswana showing districts, major towns, protected areas, and remote area settlements

to other communal areas may also have been an expression of discontent over the government's policy to move them out of the ranches. In fact, this is what actually happened in the context of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve in the 1990s and the early part of the new millennium. People removed from the CKGR did not all go to the resettlement sites, but chose to go to other communal areas near the Central Kalahari; others went to towns or to freehold farms where they had relatives or friends.²

In total, some 4,000 people occupied these communal service centers, and their numbers increased as ranches failed and were abandoned, and ranch-owners reduced the numbers of residents on their ranches. One of the problems was that neither the communal service centers nor the remote area settlements were officially gazetted under Botswana government legislation. Consequently, cattle owners and other people could freely move into them with their animals. The result of this situation were increased conflicts and a decline in livelihoods and well-being of many of the residents of the settlements and communal service centers (Malopi and Batisini 2008; Good 2009; Hitchcock, Sapi gnoli, and Babchuk 2011).

Until today, pastoralists (e.g. Tswana, Herero, Bakgalagadi) move into the Remote Area Dweller settlements and communal service centers, so as to take advantage of grazing grounds and government-subsidized water. It is anticipated that this trend will increase with climate change and environmental degradation.

LAND AND LABOR IN GHANZI DISTRICT

Much of the district's land is freehold land, commercial livestock ranches or Wildlife Management Areas (in the case of the latter, the area totals 26,342 sq km (2,624,200 hectares), or 22.34% of the district's land). Including the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, the largest protected area in Botswana, (52,313 sq km, 5,231,300 hectares), the land devoted to wildlife-related purposes in Ghanzi District totals almost two thirds of the entire

² For discussions of the resettlement sites created as a result of the Botswana government's decisions to move people out of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve in 1997 and 2002, see Kiema (2010); Hitchcock, Sapi gnoli, and Babchuk (2011); Sapi gnoli (2012). The CKGR and areas to the east, including the Western Sandveld region of Central District, have substantial symbolic significance for the people who call it their home. This symbolic significance is seen in the ways that they describe it: "This is my land," "This is my *glu*" (G//ana for territory), "This is the land of my ancestors and the place where they are buried," "It is the place where I was born" (Kiema 2010: 23; see also Silberbauer 1981: 95–9, 141–142). The name for the Central Kalahari Game Reserve is Tc'amnqoe (Kiema 2010: 11).

district (see Figure 3). In these areas, the primary utilization of the land is for wildlife-related enterprises, such as tourism and game ranching (see also Andrew et al., this volume) At the same time, small communities of people carry out a variety of livelihood activities in these wildlife areas.

One of the ways in which the Ghanzi District Council and the government of Botswana dealt with the issue of the large numbers of poor people on freehold farms in Ghanzi District, as well as those who were squatters in the Ghanzi Township and those who were told to leave leasehold ranches (i.e. at Makunda and in the south eastern Ghanzi District) was that they resettled these groups in what came to be called Remote Area Dweller settlements. Theoretically open to anyone in the country who wishes to settle there, these settlements are characteristically in communal areas or in Wildlife Management Areas. Most of the settlements are 20 by 20 km (40,000 hectares), which is smaller than the area generally needed to support full-time foraging as a lifestyle (Hitchcock 1978; Wily 1979, 1981, 1982). All of them have been provided with social and physical infrastructures by the Ghanzi District Council or central government (e.g. water points, schools, teachers' quarters, health posts, *dikgotla* [i.e. meeting places for community members and officials, among others], and areas of land for residences and, in some cases, gardens, fields, and kraals) and places for keeping livestock.

Even if today, sizable numbers of San (as well as members of some other groups such as Bakgalagadi, Tswana, and Herero) can be seen to work on Ghanzi freehold farms and on TGLP ranches and cattle posts, security of tenure has deteriorated for them. The main reason is that the number of people who are allowed to remain on farms has been reduced, in part because of labor costs and because some Ghanzi and leasehold area farmers have added fences—which reduces the need for herders (*badisa*)—and have established boundaries around farms, so as to exclude farm workers from them.

In fieldwork carried out by both authors in the Ghanzi Farms in 2011 and 2012, it was found that many of the people on the farms were concerned about the future, saying, for example, "We have no security here. The farm owners can remove us at any time."³ There was evidence to support these

³ Fieldwork on issues involving land in Botswana was carried out over a period from 1975 to 2012. Maria Sapi gnoli conducted field work in Ghanzi, Gaborone, and Lobatse in July–September, 2006, with follow-up work in Ghanzi in 2010–2011 and 2012. In July–August, 2011 Sapi gnoli and Hitchcock conducted field work in northern Ghanzi District on Ghanzi farms and some of the settlements (Kuke, Roobrak, New Xade) as part of an assessment of

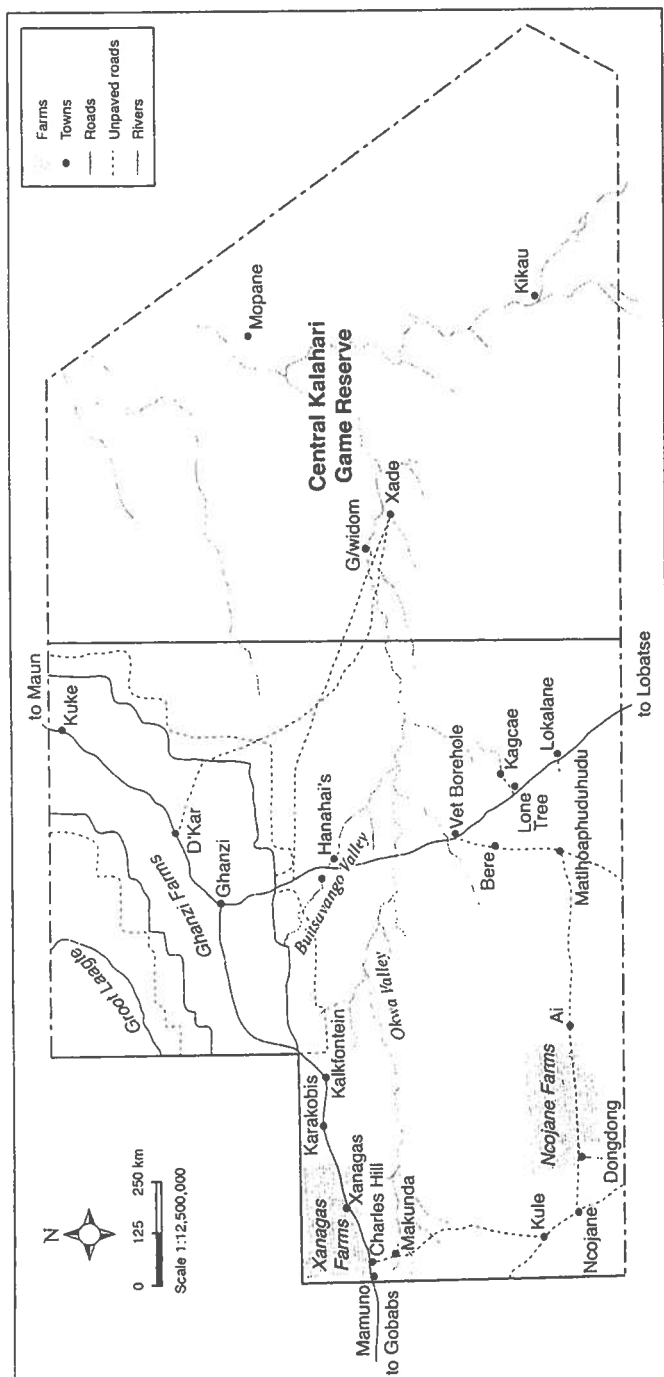


Figure 3. Map of Ghanzi District and the Central Kalahari Game Reserve

concerns. An assessment of a sample of Ghanzi farms revealed that the numbers of San farm workers had been reduced from 10–12 per farm in the 1970s and 1980s, to 5–6 per farm in 2011. Fewer of the farm laborers, who in the past could be termed generational farm workers—i.e. people who lived their entire lives on the farms and were totally dependent on the farm owners for support—were San. Exacerbating the position of San workers is the fact that a significant portion of the farm worker population on some Ghanzi Farms is made up of Bakgalagadi, Herero, Tswana, or Zimbabweans (Sapignoli and Hitchcock 2011). Farm owners say that while they may appreciate the long-standing connections they and their families have had with San, ‘new workers’ are “more efficient and cost less”.

THE WESTERN SANDVELD REGION OF CENTRAL DISTRICT, NORTH WEST
DISTRICT AND LAND, LIVESTOCK, AND WILDLIFE DEVELOPMENT

In the 1970s, with the introduction of the Tribal Grazing Land Policy, the government of Botswana and the Central District Council designated what became known as the Western Sandveld region as a commercial first development area (see Figure 4). Originally, there were plans for 300–400 leasehold ranches, but after lengthy surveys and investigations and evidence showing that people had customary rights to land in much of the area, it was decided to set aside only 18 commercial ranches, arrayed along a veterinary cordon fence, notably the Makoba Fence. In the early 1990s, the government decided to allow individuals who had water rights (i.e. the possession of boreholes) to get leasehold rights over the areas surrounding their boreholes, averaging 8 km by 8 km in size (64 sq km or 6,400 hectares). Some of the water right holders opted to fence the areas around their boreholes, with funding from the National Development Bank. Under TGLP, 342 commercial ranches were demarcated and allocated to individuals and groups (Republic of Botswana 1989; Mathuba 2003). By the late 1980s, approximately 4% of Botswana's land area was devoted to TGLP ranches. The TGLP approach was expanded and reinforced by the 1991 National Agricultural Development Policy (Republic of Botswana 1991). By 2006, an additional 602 leasehold ranches were demarcated. This meant that approximately 8% of the country's land

potential copper mining impacts (see Sapignoli and Hitchcock 2011). Hitchcock's work on the western Central District was carried out between 1975 and 2012 (see Hitchcock 1978, 1980; Campbell, Main, and Hitchcock 2006).

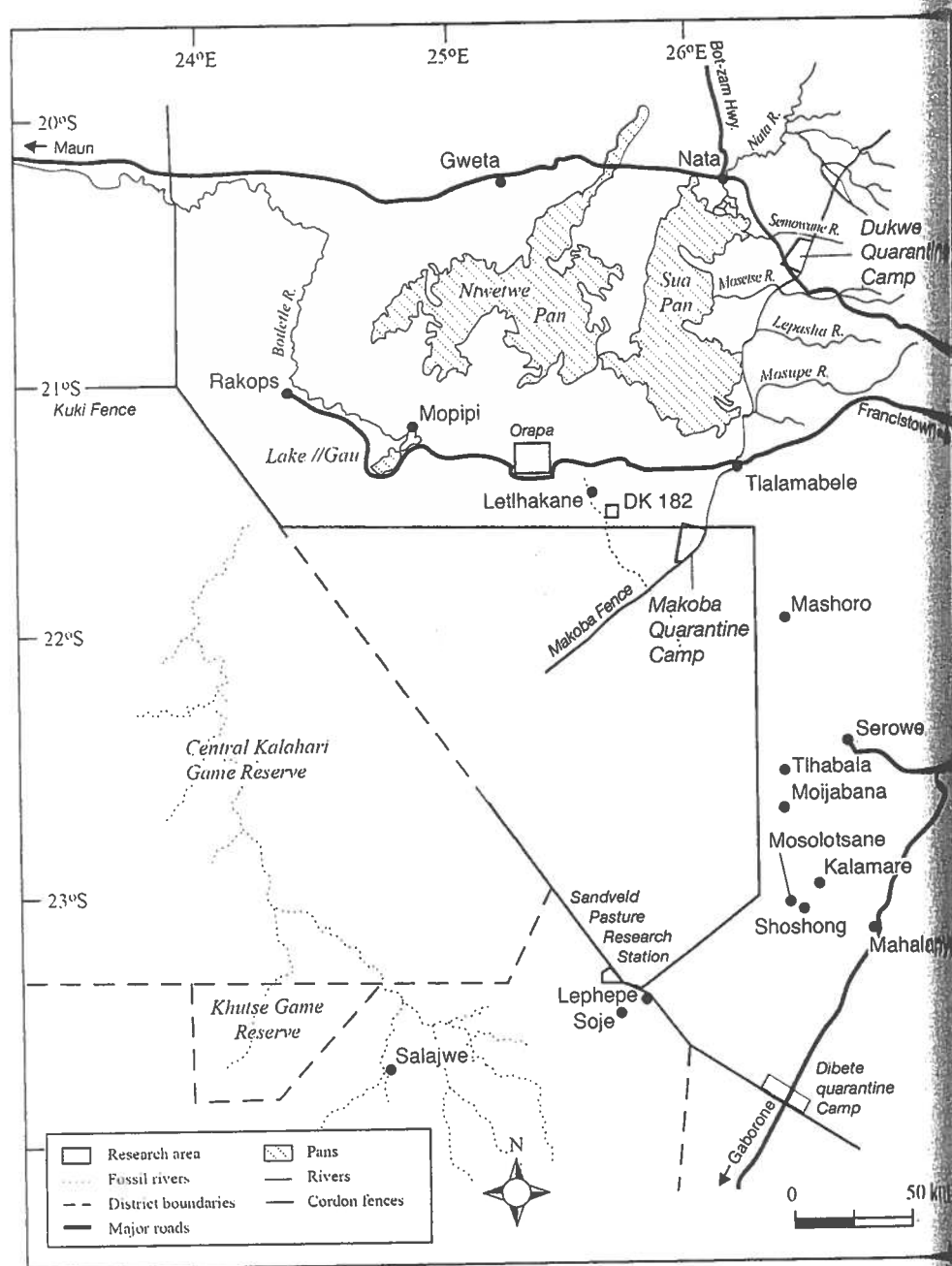


Figure 4. Map of the Western Sandveld Region of Central District, Botswana showing research area

had been converted from communal (common property) to private leasehold land.

In fact, by the early 21st century nearly all of the approx. 300 commercial leasehold ranches in the Western Sandveld region of Central District were owned by individuals who lived outside of the region. Research by a team from the University of Sussex (Sporton and Thomas 2002), revealed a trend toward expansion of commercial cattle ranches along with a wide range of social, economic, and environmental impacts, the causes and consequences of which were contested. At the same time, questions were raised about the long-term impacts of livestock on the range, the degree to which cattle grazing contributed to local environmental change and the socioeconomic impacts of ranching programs on common property resource management systems (Perkins 1991; Dougill 2002; Campbell, Main, and Hitchcock 2006; Cullis and Watson 2009). A detailed study of the Makoba Ranching block and assessments of ranch communities (see Figure 5) revealed that some of the individuals who got leases for their land, opted to tell the residents of the ranches, including ranch workers and their families as well as non-workers, that they had to leave the ranches. Many of these residents were San. When livestock had been removed from the ranches, former employees moved to areas on the periphery of the ranches. There they attempted to earn a living through a mixture of foraging, working for other people, doing piecework (e.g. building fences, clearing roads), and engaging in formal sector employment (e.g. working at the diamond mines of Orapa or Letlhakane). Some received rations from the government as part of Botswana's drought relief, Remote Area Dweller, and destitute support programs.⁴ Other ex-ranch residents moved to towns to the east, or went to live in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve. Moving into the Game Reserve was a risky strategy since the government had already told the people living in the reserve that they would no longer be allowed to live there nor use the wildlife and other natural resources in the reserve (Hitchcock 2002; Sapi gnoli 2012).⁵ Still others opted to leave the region altogether. In the wake of this migration families could be seen to split up; men went to work in towns or in

⁴ So-called destitutes are individuals who lack the means of supporting themselves.

⁵ Information obtained from people in the eastern part of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve who had moved back into the reserve from the Central District after the 2006 CKGR court case indicated that some of the CKGR residents had come from the Botletle River region and from the settlements around Kedia, south of Lake //Gau (Xau), which had been established for remote area dwellers in the 1970s, and Xeri, one of the CKGR resettlement locations established in the early part of the new millennium.

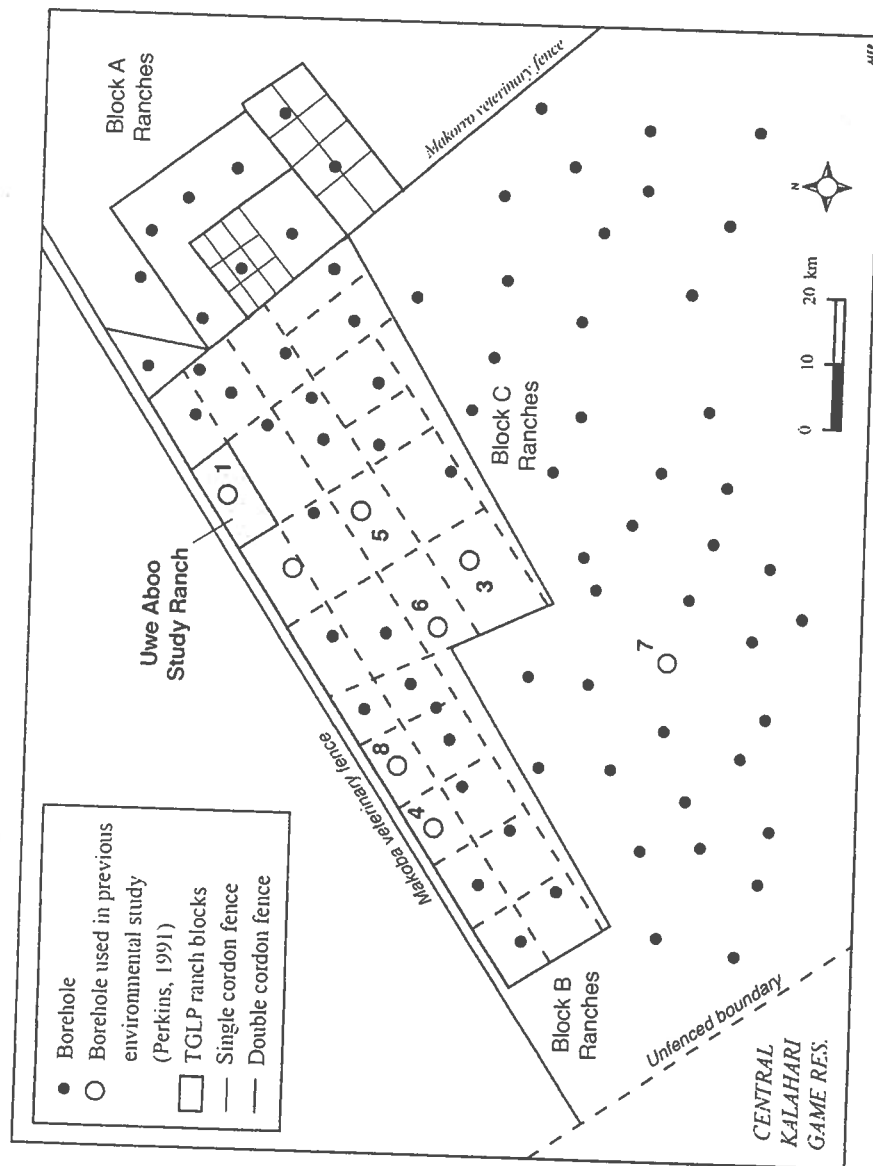


Figure 5. Map of Tribal Grazing Land Policy Ranches in the Western Sandveld Region of Central District

the mines, leaving behind their wives and children. Many of these female-headed households were without land, livestock or other resources.

In the early 21st century, new commercial ranches were established in the area both northwest and southwest of the Makoba Veterinary Cordon fence, where the original block of 18 TGLP ranches had been demarcated in the 1970s. The new ranches attracted local people as well as foreigners, in search for jobs as herders and pumpers. In some cases their families came with them. One of the trends in the early 21st century, however, was that many of the jobs were taken up by individuals who did not have families on site, but who instead sent money to them at their homes in Botswana and Zimbabwe.

FROM RANCH TO GAME RESERVE

In order to qualify for one of these ranches with the sub-district land board, individual applicants had to have a management plan. Many of these plans, as it turned out, were done by professional consultants, and the ranch applicants themselves were frequently unaware of the provisions of the plans (Motlopi 2006: 25). In the bidding process, citizens and citizen-owned companies were given preference over non-citizens in the land board criteria. This, however, did not prevent non-citizens from purchasing ranches from others who had been allocated them.

In the case of the 72 TGLP ranches in the Hainaveld region in North West District (Ngamiland), just to the north of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, some of the ranch lessees formed a conservancy (a block of ranches which had a common management plan aimed at conservation, game ranching, and commercial wildlife management) and advertised on the web for willing buyers; the price for the conservancy in 2011 was over US\$3,951,150 for a conservancy area some 26,341 hectares in size (www.bestrealestate.com/go/en, accessed on May 28, 2011). Several foreign companies sent representatives to Botswana to assess the potential of the conservancy in 2010–2011, a number of them from China. Such efforts were being encouraged by the government of Botswana through its land policies and its policy on game ranching (Republic of Botswana 2002). In several areas, ranchers sold off their livestock and replaced the domestic animals with wild animals, of which a number were bought at auctions. Some of the ranches established hunting operations and made arrangements for foreign hunters to come to their ranches to hunt, usually for substantial payments of foreign exchange. Thus, both in freehold farm areas (e.g. the

Ghanzi Farms) and in commercial ranching areas such as those in Central and North West Districts, there was a transformation in land use and management and a shift in control, with relatively wealthy land owners, ranch lessees, and companies consolidating their hold on land, while poor occupants of those lands were largely excluded. A number of the hunting operations are carried out by San who have been engaged as hunting guides for generations in Botswana. By and large, however, few San have management positions in safari companies, and no San own safari hunting or tourism companies in Botswana.

In Ngamiland some communities were given wildlife rights, under Botswana's Community-Based Natural Resource Management Policy (Republic of Botswana 2007). In order to get these rights from the Department of Wildlife and National Parks, the communities had to come up with a land use and management plan, a constitution, and a community trust board. CBNRM was considered by some in the country a "foreign grown" concept and one that was expatriate driven (Rihoy and Magurananga 2010: 58). Part of the early work on CBNRM was funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and implemented by a private company working in conjunction with the Department of Wildlife and National Parks. Later on, the World Conservation Union and SNV, the Netherlands Development Organization, got involved in CBNRM in Botswana (Rozemeijer 2001; Arntzen et al. 2003). By 2012, there were some 160 community trusts in Botswana, many of which were engaged in various kinds of natural resource-related activities, some of which generated substantial revenues.

In North West District, there are nearly a dozen community-based organizations, most of which were working with private joint venture partners. A list some of these CBOs and their activities is presented in Table 3. There were a number of challenges that these community trusts faced, including (1) getting a joint venture partner through a fair and transparent bidding process which was willing to work cooperatively with the community, (2) ensuring that the joint venture partners, some of which were foreign-owned, did not take advantage of the local community by honoring their agreements (e.g. providing the community trust with agreed-upon royalties, not overshooting their licenses), and (3) ensuring full community participation. Some safari companies promised communities that they would hire specific numbers of local people and that they would provide training, something that they did not always do. There have also been cases where safari companies bribed community trust members in an effort to get the lease.

Table 3. Community trusts in Botswana's North West District involved in ecotourism and integrated conservation and development activities

Name of trust and founding date	Controlled hunting area, Size in km ²	Composition of population, population size	Project activities
Jakotsha Community Trust, 1999	NG 24, 530 km ²	Mbukushu, Herero and G//anikwe San, 10,000 people, multiple villages	Community tourism, <i>makoro</i> (canoe) poling, basketry and other craft sales
Khwai Development Trust, 2000	NG 18, 1,815 km ² and NG 19, 180 km ²	Bugakwe San, Tawana, and Subiya, 360 people, 1 village	Ecotourism, craft sales, work at private safari lodges, auctioning off hunting quota portion, setting up a of a community-owned tourist lodge
Mubhe Zokotsama Community Development Trust, 1998	NG 41, 2,181 km ²	Ts'ixa San, 200 people, 1 village	Ecotourism, craft sales, and safari tourism
Okavango Community Trust, 1999	NG 22, 580, km ² , NG 23, 540 km ²	Bugakwe, Wayeyi, Mbukushu, G//anikwe, Dxeriku, BaTawana, 2,200 people, 5 villages	Safari hunting and photo-based tourism
Bankuyo Tshwaragano Management Trust (STMT), 1995	NG 34, 870 km ²	Wayeyi and Subiya, 345 people, 1 village	Ecotourism, safari hunting concession, craft sales, campsite
Leemashane Community Trust, 1999	NG 10 and NG 11, ca. 800 km ²	Mbukushu, Wayeyi, Bugakwe San, G//anikwe San, 5,000 people,	Community tourism, campsite, cultural trail, craft sales
Ani/Xai (Cgae Cgae) Tlhabololo Trust, 1997	NG 4, 9,293 km ² NG 5, 7,623 km ² (16,966 km ² total)	Ju/'hoansi San, Mbanderu, 450 people, 1 village	Leasing out of portion of wildlife quota, crafts, safari hunting and tourism

Note: Data obtained from the North West District Council, the North West District Land Use Planning Unit, and the Kuru Family of Organizations. NG stands for Ngamiland.

For their part, the community trusts have had their own challenges, such as handling funds in a transparent and accountable manner, providing broad community benefits, listening to community members' opinions, and responding to community requests for assistance (Rihoy and Magurananga 2010). Also, from the government side they have been challenged.

During late 2011 and the first half of 2012 some San community trusts were barred from operating by the government as a result of alleged mismanagement. Moreover, government officials have said that the Botswana government is considering shutting down commercial safari hunting in the country altogether (Gaotlhobogwe 2011b, data from Ministry of Environment, Wildlife, and Tourism, 2012).

CONCLUSIONS

It is clear from this assessment of land reform in Botswana that local people, notably the San, have been affected in a variety of ways by State-led changes in land policy since the colonial era. The land reforms included setting aside areas for private use by individuals, so-called freehold areas, which were established under the Bechuanaland Protectorate. In cases where lands were set aside for freehold purposes, sizable numbers of local people, many of them members of minority groups, were dispossessed, while other people, many of them non-local or foreign, were able to benefit from the land (e.g. through raising of livestock, engaging in commercial agriculture, or participating in safari hunting with private clients, many of them from abroad). Similar kinds of situations occurred in the case of the land reform efforts made under the Tribal TGLP and the National Agricultural Development Policy of the post-colonial Botswana government, which saw a substantial portion of the country set aside as commercial cattle ranches, resulting in the dispossession of tens of thousands of people, a sizable proportion of them San, many of whom moved into the already over-crowded communal areas.

The third kind of land reform was the division by the Botswana government of the Wildlife Management Areas into areas for commercial use, that is, for private safari companies, and those for community use. In North West District, for example, three quarters of the so-called Controlled Hunting Areas (CHAs) ended up in the hands of private companies, while only a quarter of the CHAs became Community-Controlled Hunting Areas (CCHAs) (data from North West District Land Use Planning Unit and the North West District Council, 2011).

As for future developments, the people of Cgae Cgae (/Xai/Xai) and Dobe in the community-controlled hunting areas NG 3 expressed significant concern to planners and biologists working with them in 2012 about the selling of leases for 8 km by 8 km (64 sq km, 6,400 hectares) farms in the NG 3 area. Boga Thura Manatsha, a Motswana researcher, told reporter

l'phraim Keoreng of the Botswana newspaper *Mmegi Wa Dikgang* in June, 2012, when asked about what Botswana was facing in the future: "The main challenge is that the government seems to turn a blind eye on the now disturbing buying and selling of land by foreigners." Professor Manatsha went on to say the following:

The other difference between Botswana and other countries is that here, cattle barons, bureaucrats and politicians, and (now) property developers are working in collusion. Therefore, it becomes difficult for the poor to articulate their land rights. Botswana has become a country where wealth is made through acquiring land cheaply from the poor and weak (Keoreng, 2012: 1).

Like many in Botswana, Manatsha is concerned that land in the country will soon be auctioned for commercial, industrial, civic, and community use, putting an end to land applications. The provisions for this new approach are contained in the new draft Botswana Land Policy which was tabled in the Botswana Parliament session that ended in 2012 (Gaotlhobogwe 2012a).

The issue that remains to be solved is what rights local people will have to ensure that they benefit from the presence of commercial cattle ranches, private hunting concessions or mining operations on the lands which they have fought so hard to retain. As an informant put it in an interview in Ghanzi in August, 2011, "We have had enough of the government giving away our land and resources to wealthy individuals and foreign companies. It is time that we got our own rights to the land, legal rights which cannot be sacrificed in the name of 'development' by the state or by big companies." While the companies that have prospecting licenses, leases and title deeds in the Kalahari maintain that they have progressive policies in place to safeguard the rights of the local communities, as well as the environmentally and socially sustainable exploitation of natural and human resources, local people continue to worry, given the long, complex, and difficult history of land reform and sub-surface resource extraction and development in Botswana.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We wish to thank the government of Botswana for permission to conduct the research discussed here. Some of the financial support for the research by Maria Sapi gnoli for this paper came from the Sociology Department of Essex University in the United Kingdom. Financial support to Robert

Hitchcock was provided by the U.S. National Science Foundation (grants SOC75-02253 and BNS76-20373), the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Norwegian Ministry of Development Co-operation, the U.S. Agency for International Development, and Hivos (The Netherlands). We want to express our appreciation to the San and other advocacy and development organizations in Botswana, including First People of the Kalahari, the Kuru Family of Organizations, the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa, the Botswana Khwedom Council, and Ditshwanelo, the Botswana Center for Human Rights. We also wish to thank the people of Botswana and the various companies, organizations, communities, and individuals who provided us with information and shared their insights on land, resource, and development issues. Useful suggestions were made for improving this article by the editors and several external reviewers, to whom we are very grateful.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anseeuw, W. and C. Alden, eds. 2010. *The Struggle for Land in Africa: Culture, Politics, and Change*. Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council Press.
- Arntzen, J.W., D.L. Molokomme, E.M. Terry, N. Moleele, T. Tshosa, and D. Mazambani. 2003. *Main Findings of the Review of CBNRM in Botswana*. CBNRM Support Program, Occasional Paper No. 14. Gaborone, Botswana: IUCN Botswana and CBNRM Support Program (IUCN/SNV CBNRM Support Program).
- Behnke, R., I. Scoones, and C. Kerven, eds. 1993. *Range Ecology at Disequilibrium: New Models of Natural Variability and Pastoral Adaptation in African Savannas*. London: Overseas Development Institute.
- Bolaane, M. 2004. "The Impact of Game Reserve Policy on the River BaSarwa/Bushmen of Botswana." *Social Policy and Administration* 38(4): 399-417.
- Campbell, A. C. 1973. The National Park and Reserve System in Botswana. *Biological Conservation* 5(1): 7-14.
- Campbell, A., M. Main, and R.K. Hitchcock. 2006. "Land, Livestock, and Labor in Rural Botswana: The Western Sandveld Region of Central District as a Case Study." In *Updating the San: Image and Reality of an African People in the 21st Century*, R.K. Hitchcock, K. Ikeya, M. Bieselee, and R.B. Lee, eds. Osaka, Japan: National Museum of Ethnology, 183-228.
- Childers, G.W. 1976. *Report on the Survey/Investigation of the Ghanzi Farm Basarwa Situation*. Gaborone, Botswana: Government Printer.
- Cullis, A. and C. Watson. 2009. *Winners and Losers: Privatizing the Commons in Botswana*. London: International Institute of Environment and Development.
- de Satge, R. 2011. "Botswana," in *Decentralized Land Governance: Case Studies and Local Voices from Botswana, Madagascar, and Mozambique*, K. Kleinbooi and R. de Satge, eds., with C. Tanner. Cape Town: Institute for Poverty, Land, and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape. 14-47.
- Devitt, P. and R.K. Hitchcock. 2010. "Who Drives Resettlement? The Case of Lesotho's Mohale Dam," *African Study Monographs*, 31(2):57-106.
- Dougill, A. 2002. "Ecological Change in Kalahari Rangelands: Permanent or Reversible? In *Sustainable Livelihoods in Kalahari Environments: A Contribution to Global Debates*, D. Sporton and D.S.G.H. Thomas, eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 91-110.
- Dickson, W.L. 1990. *Land Tenure and Management in a Developing Country: The Case of Botswana 1966-1975*. Gaborone, Botswana: National Institute of Research (NIR).
- Dressler, W., B. Buscher, M. Schoon, D. Brockington, T. Hayes, C. Kuill, J. McCarthy, and K. Stresnay. 2010. "From Hope to Crisis and Back Again? A Critical History of the Global CBNRM Narrative." *Environmental Conservation* 37(1):5-15.
- Gaotlhobogwe, M. 2012a. "Botswana Land Up for Auction." *Mmegi wa Dikang*, Vol. 13, no. 32, 27 August 2012.
- . 2012b. "Basarwa, Bakgalagadi in another Forced Relocation." *Mmegi wa Dikang*, Vol. 29, no. 40, 15 March 2012.
- . 2011a. "Trophy Hunters' Paradise." *Mmegi Wa Dikang*, Vol. 13, no. 24, 25 June, 2012.
- . 2011b. "Wildlife Hunting to Cease in Botswana." *Mmegi wa Dikang*, Vol. 28, no. 4, 15 July 2011.
- Good, K. 2009. *Diamonds, Dispossession and Democracy in Botswana*. Johannesburg: James Currey and Jacana Media.
- Guenther, M.G. 1986. *The Nharo Bushmen of Botswana: Tradition and Change*. Hamburg, Germany: Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Gulbrandsen, O. 2012. *The State and the Social: State Formation in Botswana and Its Precolonial and Colonial Genealogies*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- . 1987. *Privilege and Responsibility: On Transformations of Hierarchical Relations in a Tswana Society*. Bergen, Norway: Department of Anthropology, University of Bergen.
- Hitchcock, R.K. 2006. "We Are the Owners of the Land: The Struggle of the San for the Kalahari and Its Resources." In *Updating the San: Image and Reality of an African People in the 21st Century*, R.K. Hitchcock, K. Ikeya, M. Bieselee, and R.B. Lee, eds. Osaka, Japan: National Museum of Ethnology. 229-256.
- . 2002. "We Are the First People: Land, Natural Resources, and Identity in the Central Kalahari, Botswana." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28(4):797-824.
- . 2001. "'Hunting is Our Heritage': The Struggle for Hunting and Gathering Rights among the San of Southern Africa." In *Parks, Property, and Power*, D.G. Anderson and K. Ikeya, eds. Osaka, Japan: National Museum of Ethnology. 139-156.
- . 1991. "Kuakaka: An Early Case of Ethnoarchaeology in the Northern Kalahari." *Botswana Notes and Records* 23:223-233.
- . 1980. "Tradition, Social Justice, and Land Reform in Central Botswana." *Journal of African Law*, 24(1):1-34.
- . 1978. *Kalahari Cattle Posts*. Gaborone, Botswana: Ministry of Local Government and Lands.
- Hitchcock, R.K. and T. Nkwe. 1982. "Social and Environmental Impacts of Agrarian Reform in Rural Botswana," in *Land Policy and Agriculture in Eastern and Southern Africa*, J.W. Arntzen, L.D. Ngcongco and S.D. Turner, eds. Tokyo: United National University Press. 93-99.
- Hitchcock, R.K., M. Sapi gnoli, and W.A. Babchuk. 2011. "What about Our Rights? Settlements, Subsistence, and Livelihood Security among Central Kalahari San and Bakgalagadi." *The International Journal of Human Rights* 15(1): 62-88.
- Hunter, J. ed. 2004. *Who Should Own the Land? Analyses and Views on Land Reform and the Land Question in Namibia and Southern Africa*. Windhoek: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung and Namibia Institute for Democracy.
- Keoreng, E. 2012. "How Foreigners are Buying Land like Magwinya." *Mmegi Wa Dikang*, Vol. 13, no. 46, 1 June 2012.
- Khama, Sir S. 1975. *Launching the Tribal Grazing Land Policy*. Gaborone, Botswana: Government Printer.
- Kiema, K. 2010. *Tears for My Land: A Social History of the Kua of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, Tc'amnqo*. Gaborone: Mmegi Publishing House.
- Lawry, S.W. 1983. *Land Tenure, Land Policy, and Smallholder Livestock Development in Botswana*. LTC Research Paper No. 78. Madison, Wisconsin: Land Tenure Center.
- Leith, J.C. 2005. *Why Botswana Prospered*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press.

- Lindsey, P.A., P.A. Roulet, and S.S. Romanach. 2007. Economic and Conservation Significance of the Trophy Hunting Industry in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Biological Conservation* 134:455-469.
- Malope, P. and N. Batisini. 2008. "Land Reforms that Exclude the Poor: The Case of Botswana," *Development Southern Africa* 25(4): 383-397.
- Mathuba, B.M. 2003. Botswana Land Policy. Paper presented at the International Workshop on Land Policies in Southern Africa, Berlin, Germany.
- Manatsha, B.T. and K.L. Maharajan. 2010. "The Politics of Land Question in North Eastern Botswana in the Context of Southern Africa." *The Social Sciences* 5(2): 128-138.
- Mazonde, I. 1991. *The Enterprise of Ranching in the Tuli Block: A Study of Cultural Adjustment and Social Change in Botswana*. Gaborone, Botswana: National Institute of Research.
- Merafe, Y. 1988. "Social and Economic Effects of the Tribal Grazing Land Policy in Botswana with Particular Reference to Livestock Production," in *Botswana: Education, Culture, and Politics*, Alan Barnard, ed. Edinburgh: Center of African Studies, University of Edinburgh. 55-63.
- Ministry of Agriculture. 1983. *Agriculture for Botswana*. London: Macmillan Education.
- Ministry of Local Government and Lands. 1984. *Tribal Grazing Land Policy Guidelines*. Gaborone, Botswana: Ministry of Local Government and Lands.
- Mogalakwe, M. 1986. *Inside Ghanzi Freehold Farms: A Look at the Conditions of Basarwa Farm Workers*. Gaborone, Botswana: Applied Research Unit, Ministry of Local Government and Lands, 1986.
- Motlopi, K. 2006. Privatization of Rangelands, Ranch Development, Management, and Equity: The Case of Area 4B, Botswana. MA Thesis, Norwegian University of Life Sciences Department of International Environmental and Development Studies.
- Perkins, J. 1991. The Impact of Borehole Dependent Cattle Grazing on the Environment and Society of the Eastern Kalahari Sandveld, Central District, Botswana. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Sheffield.
- Peters, P. 1994. *Dividing the Commons: Politics, Policy, and Culture in Botswana*. Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia.
- Picard, L.A. 1980. "Bureaucrats, Cattle, and Public Policy: Land Tenure Changes in Botswana." *Comparative Political Studies* 13(3):313-356.
- , ed. 1985. *The Evolution of Modern Botswana: Politics and Development in Southern Africa*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press and London: Rex Collings.
- Republic of Botswana. 2007. *Community-Based Natural Resources Management Policy*. Gaborone, Botswana: Government of Botswana.
- . 2002. *Botswana Game Ranching Policy*. Government Paper No. 5 of 2002. Gaborone, Botswana: Government Printer.
- . 1991. *National Policy on Agricultural Development*. Government Paper No. 1 of 1991. Gaborone, Botswana: Government Printer.
- . 1989. *Report on the Review of the Tribal Land, Land Policies, and Related Issues*. Gaborone, Botswana: Government Printer.
- . 1986. *Wildlife Conservation Policy*. Government Paper No. 1 of 1986. Gaborone, Botswana: Government Printer.
- . 1975. *National Policy on Tribal Grazing Land*. Government Paper No. 2 of 1975. Gaborone, Botswana: Government Printer.
- . 1968. *The Tribal Land Act*. Gaborone, Botswana: Government Printer.
- Rihoy, L. and B. Maguranyanga. 2010. "The Politics of Community-Based Resource Management in Botswana." In *Community Rights, Conservation, and Contested Lands: The Politics of Natural Resource Governance in Africa*, Fred Nelson, ed. London and Washington D.C.: Earthscan. 55-78.
- Rohde, R.F., N.M. Moleele, M. Mphale, N. Allsopp, R. Chanda, M.T. Hoffman, L. Magole, and E. Young. 2006. "Dynamics of Grazing Policy and Practice: Environmental and Social Impacts in Three Communal Areas of Southern Africa." *Environmental Science and Policy* 9(3):302-316.
- Rozemeijer, N. ed. 2001. *Community-Based Tourism in Botswana: The SNV Experience in Three Community Tourism Projects*. Gaborone, Botswana: SNV (Netherlands Development Organization).
- Russell, M. 1976. "Slaves or Workers? Relations between Bushmen, Tswana and Boers in the Kalahari," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 2(2):178-197.
- Russell, M. and M. Russell. 1979. *Afrikaansers of the Kalahari: White Minority in a Black State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sanford, S. 1983. *Management of Pastoral Development in the Third World*. New York: John Wiley and Sons and Overseas Development Institute.
- . 1981. *Review of World Bank Livestock Activities in Dry Tropical Africa*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- Sapignoli, M. 2012. *Local Power through Globalised Indigenous Identities: The San, the State, and the International Community*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Essex, Colchester, United Kingdom.
- . 2009. "Indigeneity as Expert Witness: Negotiating Identity in the Case of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve", In *Law and Anthropology*, Michael Freeman and David Napier, eds, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press. 247-268.
- Sapignoli, M. and R.K. Hitchcock. 2011. *Social Impact Assessment Anthropological Analysis of the Ghanzi Copper Project Area, Western Botswana*. Gaborone: SIAPAC and Local Environmental.
- Schapera, I. 1971. "The Native Land Problem in the Tati District." *Botswana Notes and Records* 3:219-268.
- . 1943. *Native Land Tenure in the Bechuanaland Protectorate*. Alice, South Africa: Lovedale Press.
- Scudder, T. 2005. *The Future of Large Dams: Dealing with Social, Environmental, Institutional, and Political Costs*. London: James and James Science Publishers.
- Silberbauer, G.B. 1981. *Hunter and Habitat in the Central Kalahari Desert*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sporton, D. and D.S.G.H. Thomas, eds. 2002. *Sustainable Livelihoods in Kalahari Environments: A Contribution to Global Debates*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tlou, T. and A. Campbell. 1997. *History of Botswana*. Third Edition. Gaborone: Macmillan Botswana Publishing.
- Tsimako, B. 1991. *The Tribal Grazing Land Policy Ranches: Performance to Date*. Gaborone, Botswana: Socio-economic Monitoring and Evaluation Unit, Ministry of Agriculture.
- White, R. 1993. *Livestock Development and Pastoral Production on Communal Rangeland in Botswana*. Gaborone, Botswana: The Botswana Society.
- Wily, E.A. 1982. "A Strategy of Self-Determination for the Kalahari San (The Botswana Government's Programme of Action in the Ghanzi Farms)." *Development and Change* 13(2):291-308.
- . 1981. *The TGLP and Hunter-Gatherers: A Case Study in Land Politics*. Gaborone, Botswana: National Institute of Development and Cultural Research.
- . 1979. *Official Policy Towards San (Bushmen) Hunter-Gatherers in Modern Botswana: 1966-1978*. Gaborone, Botswana: National Institute of Development and Cultural Research.